

EXHIBIT B

1 STATE OF GEORGIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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7 GEORGIA HOUSE
Day 28 Afternoon

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2019-2020 REGULAR SESSION

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TRANSCRIPT OF HEARINGS

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24 Transcribed from electronic media by
Susan H. Horner CCR B-808

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2 DAVID RALSTON

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1 THE CLERK: House Bill 481 by Representative
2 Setzler of the 35th and others to be entitled an
3 act to amend Chapter 2 of Title 1 of the Official
4 Code of Georgia Annotated relating to persons and
5 their rights to amend Article 5 of Chapter 12 of
6 Title 16 of the Official Code of Georgia Annotated
7 relating to abortion to amend Chapter 9A of Title
8 13 of the Official Code of Georgia Annotated
9 relating to the "Woman's Right To Know Act" and to
10 amend Chapter 9B of Title 31 of the Official Code
11 of Georgia Annotated relating to physician's
12 obligations in the performance of abortions.
13 This bill having been referred to the committee
14 on Health and Human Services, that committee
15 recommends that this bill do pass by committee
16 substitute.

17 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Chairman
18 Setzler to present the bill.

19 CHAIRMAN SETZLER: Mr. Speaker, Ladies and
20 Gentlemen of the House, it is with deep humility
21 that I rise today. I would like to thank members
22 of the House Health and Human Services Committee
23 that when this bill was filed ten days ago on the
24 25th of February members began to read through
25 the bill and prepare for a committee hearing

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1 yesterday that lasted for nearly three hours and
2 was substantive, detailed, courteous, both of
3 those for the proposition and against the
4 proposition had every right to be heard. There
5 were more than ten amendments offered and I
6 appreciate Chair Lady Sharon Cooper for the
7 dignity and the opportunity for people on both
8 sides of this question to be heard in full
9 committee.

10 These are not questions that need to be
11 addressed hastily and they have decidedly not
12 been. As we consider this issue before us today
13 in House Bill 481 I want us to all think about the
14 things we do here and the people we serve.

15 This is an extraordinarily diverse state and
16 in the day of political divisions I come before
17 you today speaking to people of both parties. I
18 come today speaking to people of all backgrounds,
19 of all ages, of all income levels, of all
20 geographies because this bill before us today and
21 the question we'll be talking about in House Bill
22 481 goes right to the heart of humanity itself.

23 We do lots of things down here that serve our
24 communities, we do lots of things down here that
25 serve our state well. But Ladies and Gentlemen of

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1 the House, there are a few opportunities we have,
2 and there are a few, but this is an opportunity
3 for us to debate and talk about the very meaning
4 of human life and those that are worthy of our
5 state's protection. Our job as lawmakers is to
6 protect those who cannot protect themselves. Our
7 job as lawmakers are to provide for those in
8 difficult circumstances that need in some cases
9 provision, a hand up to help them in their mean
10 circumstances and in other cases to provide
11 opportunities and incentives for young people to
12 achieve educationally and to live lives of
13 fullness and goodness that our creator intended
14 for us.

15 As I bring before you today House Bill 481
16 the issue before this House is the question of
17 when should human life be protected by the law.
18 There is broad consensus that the fragile children
19 among us that are in neonatal intensive care units
20 are worthy not only our protection by law but of
21 our resources. Our insurance policies cover these
22 kids' healthcare. Our laws and our Medicaid
23 programs cover these children and care for these
24 precious children even if the parents live under
25 the poverty line. We care for these children

1 because the value of human life is priceless.

2 That's not something we peddle on, it's not
3 something we trade on and it's not something we
4 even debate.

5 Friends, we are a pro life country. When
6 there are miners trapped a mile deep in a coal
7 mine we spare no expense to save the five or six
8 people for whom oxygen is expiring to recover them
9 from a coal mine and bring them back safely home.
10 There is no expense we spare to protect the value
11 of a human life. In fact, if we go to our
12 neonatal intensive care units there's no way
13 economically we can justify the resources we spend
14 to save these precious tiny babies. But we don't
15 justify it economically, we justify it for its
16 humanity. We justify it for its humanity because
17 we are good. Alexis Tofield said -- in 1830 he
18 said America is great because America is good. We
19 are a light and the beacon to the world and we as a
20 State of Georgia are a trendsetter and a leader in
21 what it means to be good. We feel the goodness
22 amongst us as members of this body. The
23 relationships we have across the aisle and across
24 geographies, across age ranges is a beautiful thing
25 to those who are watching perhaps could never fully

1 understand until you've had the honor to serve in
2 this body and serve alongside the great public
3 servants we have here. I am honored to serve with
4 you. And I am humbled deeply to be able to
5 present this, Mr. Speaker, before the House.

6 This is motivated by people who struggle.
7 I've got in the balcony Miss Heather Hobbs (ph).
8 Miss Hobbs, if you'd stand up. Ms. Hobbs is in
9 the back. She was a military wife. She's with
10 us tonight -- she actually lives out of state.
11 She's here today and conceived her first child
12 after having been brutally raped. She came today
13 because she recognizes that even in that
14 circumstance, that horrible circumstance that
15 befell her and the circumstances by which this
16 child that she bore and brought into this world
17 was conceived, all life is precious. For the life
18 of the child that's conceived through a brutal
19 crime that we punish with up to life imprisonment
20 in this state to the child in the neonatal
21 intensive care unit, to the children we cherish in
22 our communities we recognize the preciousness of
23 human life. And what HB 481 does, it seeks to
24 recognize that the child in the womb that is
25 living distinct from their mother has a right of

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1 life that's worthy of protection.

2 I think we should all be able to agree on
3 that. It shouldn't be a partisan issue that a
4 child of the womb should be worthy of full legal
5 protection. The challenge we face with the bill
6 HB 481 seeks to address is how we balance this
7 very tenuous and difficult question, Mr. Speaker,
8 of the privacy interest of the mother with a life
9 interest of the child.

10 HB 481 was created not in ways that other
11 states have addressed this. There are people that
12 say, oh, this state or that state has done a
13 heartbeat bill. This isn't a heartbeat bill,
14 friends, this bill is created to recognize and to
15 reconcile the life interest of a child and the
16 privacy interest of the mother that's recognized
17 in our courts.

18 THE SPEAKER: The gentleman will suspend.
19 I'm going to ask the clerk to read House Rule 1.1.

20 THE CLERK: All members and staff of the
21 House shall conduct themselves at all times with
22 dignity and with respect for others in a manner to
23 ensure appropriate decorum in the deliberations of
24 the House and to reflect the responsibilities
25 incumbent upon a member or staff of the House.

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1 THE SPEAKER: This is a very serious debate.
2 The Chair is going to ask that everyone conduct
3 themselves with the dignity that's required by
4 this Rule and with respect for every other member
5 in this body. Well, I guess we have some people
6 in violation of the Rules of the House. The
7 gentleman will proceed and this will be dealt
8 with.

9 REPRESENTATIVE SETZLER: Thank you, Mr.
10 Speaker. And I just want to say that I deeply
11 respect the opinions of those that have been heard
12 and I think this is a delicate issue that we want
13 to address appropriately.

14 Mr. Speaker, members of this body, the Living
15 Infants Fairness and Equality Act was drafted as a
16 unique recognition of the humanity of the child in
17 the womb. It's created and addresses head-on the
18 issue to reconcile the privacy interest of the
19 mother that's been recognized in our courts and we
20 all know has more validity with the humanity of
21 the child. How we reconcile those two things,
22 that's what this is about.

23 This is not a political document. It's not a
24 statement, it's a reconciliation of this very very
25 difficult and even timeless question of the privacy

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1 interest of the mother and the life of the child.
2 What the Living Infants Fairness and Equality Act
3 seeks to do, Mr. Speaker, as we walk through the
4 legislative findings is lay out the legal case
5 that we as a state are rightly acting on and I
6 think this body will rightly act on to tonight.
7 Recognizing that dating back to 1868 when the 14th
8 amendment of the United States Constitution was
9 crafted it was crafted to do one thing. It did a
10 number of things but its central purpose was to
11 recognize particular classes of persons that had
12 not been previously recognized as having rights.
13 There were entire classes of people before the
14 14th amendment that had never been recognized as
15 having equal rights and it expanded it to new
16 classes of persons. In that tradition and
17 consistent with our state constitution this bill
18 HB 481 makes that recognition. It recognizes that
19 in the womb children are living. They're distinct
20 from their mothers. They have their own blood
21 types, their own DNA, their own characteristics
22 that are immutably theirs.

23 Mr. Speaker, it also recognizes that in the
24 1980 California United States Supreme Court case,
25 Pruneyard v. Robins, 1980 that states may recognize

1 fundamental rights more expansively than the
2 minimum standard required in state law.

3 This is important, friends, because I want us
4 to understand the legal framework we're operating
5 under and the wisdom that underlies the wisdom of
6 HB 481. In the Pruneyard v. Robins case there's a
7 recognition. It states more expansively recognized
8 rights. It's not in conflict with our Federal
9 Constitution, as long as it's above the minimum
10 standards the U.S. Constitution recognizes. We
11 recognize this. Currently in our Georgia
12 Constitution our 4th amendment rights against
13 unreasonable search and seizure are more expansive
14 here as Georgians than the Federal law requires.
15 We also recognize that in Massachusetts -- the
16 State of Massachusetts recognized same sex
17 marriage before the Federal law required them to
18 do so. The constitution said if you want to
19 recognize the franchise of marriage more
20 expansively than the state required, Massachusetts
21 may do that. And following that same legal
22 tradition we're recognizing the rights of the
23 child in the womb more expansively than the
24 minimum standard that Federal law requires.

25 Mr. Speaker, as we walk through this, and

1 again, I don't want this message to be about
2 distractions, this is a very important issue. As
3 we walk through this we recognize that it's our
4 job as legislators to legally recognize and to
5 provide a legal framework that's anchored both in
6 our Federal Constitution and in our state
7 constitution and that's exactly what this bill
8 does.

9 This bill, Mr. Speaker, also recognizes that
10 in the Planned Parenthood v. Casey decision that
11 the point of viability is the standard by which
12 the courts measure legislature's ability to
13 restrict abortion and that the point of viability,
14 the heartbeat medically, that is the standard by
15 which the American College of Obstetrics and
16 Gynecology recognizes a viable pregnancy, and it's
17 also the time we recognize that under our laws
18 dating back almost 40 years that when there's a
19 human heartbeat, when there's respiratory
20 activity, and friends, when there's brain
21 activity, any one of those three exists, the
22 person is not dead. We recognize that throughout
23 all life. If a coroner comes to look at somebody
24 who has been in a terrible car accident, if they
25 have a beating heart without life support, they're

1 alive.

2 So medically we see the heartbeat is the
3 standard. We see it in all other forms of life.
4 The heartbeat is the standard by which the
5 viability, the person is deemed alive. And as we
6 follow the court's direction, the point of fetal
7 heartbeat is that place that defines where the
8 privacy interest of the mother meets the life
9 interest of the child. And we can certainly agree
10 that heartbeat is sort of the middle ground we can
11 meet to recognize that.

12 Friends, I know there are distractions out
13 there and I know there are some that have
14 intentionally distracted this body, I don't want
15 to go on, there's just so much more I'd like to
16 walk through, but I will walk through the specifics
17 of the bill.

18 Mr. Speaker, if I could have people turn to
19 page, to Section 2.1 of the bill there's a
20 recognition that as we recognize the life of the
21 child there are certain statewide head counts and
22 census counts that would be appropriate for us to
23 count them, it does that here. Doesn't affect the
24 U.S. census, but for state purposes where it's
25 appropriate this bill allows that to happen.

1 As we work through Section 3.1 of the bill
2 there's a recognition that at the point of fetal
3 heartbeat this is important -- this medically
4 important threshold. This is the point where the
5 privacy interest of the mother meets this life
6 interest of the child. Let's agree that when
7 there's a beating heart medical science tells us
8 that's the threshold for a viable pregnancy, that's
9 the point at which this body would be wise to act
10 for protecting life.

11 Mr. Chairman, there's a -- at the behest of
12 others, even though we recognize that no matter
13 the matter of conception, whether someone is
14 conceived through rape or someone is conceived
15 through a loving family that the innocence and the
16 value of life is all the same.

17 Many members have come to me in an effort to
18 work in a bipartisan way which is certainly my
19 hope in a way that can be adopted by many of our
20 members, the difficulty of a circumstance in which
21 a woman is raped, it's been asked of us to consider
22 and I offer in a way that, again, I hope will
23 bring bipartisan support to this. If a woman has
24 been raped in this bill in Section 3.1 there is a
25 recognition of that. And up to 20 weeks which is

1 our current standard a woman would be allowed to
2 pursue an abortion if she's raped. Our current
3 law at 20 weeks prohibits abortion with no
4 exceptions. That doesn't change this bill, but up
5 to 20 weeks under this law if a woman were raped
6 she could still pursue an abortion. But if that
7 were not the case we recognize the value of that
8 life, the distinct living whole human being that's
9 inside that mother, this bill recognizes and I
10 think we as a body are wise to recognize as well.

11 Mr. Speaker, I will conclude by saying that,
12 again, to recognize the cost and the significance
13 of a human being coming into this world we
14 recognize parents who are raising -- parents who
15 are pregnant with their first child take on extra
16 medical costs. In many cases the mothers have to
17 spend time on bedrest or out of work, and what
18 this does is it gives a simple recognition that if
19 the parents are pregnant with a child that that
20 child would qualify for a state tax exemption. A
21 very simple act, but it is something to recognition
22 of the child in a very practical way that affirms
23 life, that takes care of these families and brings
24 us to a commonsense place that reconciles this
25 very difficult question of the privacy interest of

1 the mother and the life interest of the child.
2 And how we balance that says a lot about who we
3 are as a state. I know everybody in this chamber
4 recognizes the preciousness of life in the womb
5 and this is an opportunity for us to affirm that
6 today.

7 And now, Mr. Speaker, I know there are other
8 folks in this Chamber who want to speak on this
9 bill, I would urge your support for HB 481. I
10 yield the well.

11 THE SPEAKER: The gentleman has yielded the
12 well. There are members who wish to speak to the
13 bill, 30 minutes per each side. The Chair
14 recognizes the Governor's Floor Leader,
15 Representative Lott to speak to the bill.

16 REPRESENTATIVE LOTT: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
17 I rise today in support of HB 481, the Living
18 Infants Fairness and Equality Act, the Life Act.

19 Life is precious. All life is precious and I
20 must speak up for this bill so that we can stop
21 the death of thousands of innocent lives in our
22 state.

23 Georgia values life. We must stand up for
24 those that cannot speak for themselves. There are
25 a coalition of states also supporting the life of

1 the unborn and together we hope to restore the
2 authority of the states to determine this
3 important issue. We will continue the
4 conversation. We will improve foster care. We
5 will approve adoption options and opportunities in
6 the State of Georgia, we will continue to talk
7 about health and wellness of mom and baby. Our
8 governor is committed to putting Georgia families
9 first and recognizing the precious nature of all
10 life and I proudly join him in this fight for
11 life.

12 Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

13 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Chairman
14 Darlene Taylor to speak to the bill.

15 REPRESENTATIVE TAYLOR: Mr. Speaker, members
16 of the House, good evening. I rise to speak about
17 House Bill 481. I appreciate this opportunity to
18 share my thoughts. What a great state and country
19 we live in. All have had their say, look at all
20 the folks that have spoken and that will speak.
21 Our freedom of speech is valued above all. We can
22 demand to have our say and we do. We have just
23 witnessed that today. We've seen it all day long,
24 people have been speaking and saying what's on
25 their mind and heart. Even if it's inaccurate or

1 unpleasant, you have that right to say it. But
2 who speaks for the baby named Fetus? Who speaks
3 for the baby named Fetus? Well, today I'm going
4 to. To quote Baby Fetus, I deserve to have the
5 right too. Some may squirm in their seats or turn
6 their backs, but I will speak today. Baby Fetus
7 says and I quote, I have that right. Don't be
8 afraid or intimidated about acknowledging me. You
9 know in your heart I am life. If a pregnant woman
10 is murdered, it's a double murder. My life
11 counts. If you don't want me, someone does. We
12 are a nation hungry for babies to adopt, someone
13 wants me. What kind of a nation throws away life?
14 Baby Fetus has value, and whether you realize it
15 or not, it's a value to you.

16 God only knows what is missing in our lives
17 from the generations of abortion. By the way,
18 half of those were future women. Baby Fetus
19 deserves to have a future and to have a life.
20 Baby Fetus deserves to have a life.

21 Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Baby Fetus and I
22 yield the well.

23 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Chairman
24 Fleming to speak to the bill.

25 REPRESENTATIVE FLEMING: Thank you,

1 Mr. Speaker. When I was a young lawyer I used to
2 drive to down town Augusta to my office every day
3 and I used to have to pass Planned Parenthood
4 where they do abortions. And quite often there
5 would be some protests out there, people on the
6 sidewalk. One day I drove by -- it was a cold day,
7 probably February -- and there was one elderly
8 lady out on the corner with a protest sign and
9 there were two very large police officers standing
10 over her and it just didn't look right to me. So
11 I pulled in a parking lot across the street and I
12 watched for a second and I got out of my car and I
13 walked over to this elderly lady and I said, ma'am,
14 I don't know you and I don't know what you're doing
15 here in front of Planned Parenthood's except
16 protesting which you have a right to do. I said
17 I'm a lawyer and I understand that. And it just
18 didn't seem right how these people were acting
19 towards you, these two police officers. And about
20 that time the two police officers walked back from
21 their squad car where they were and she immediately
22 introduced them. She said, gentlemen, this is my
23 lawyer, I'd like for you to meet him. I didn't
24 know the lady's name, but I had a conversation
25 with the police officers and I let them know that

1 she had a right to be there.

2 After they had walked back to their squad
3 car -- apparently she had stepped off the sidewalk
4 and they had gotten onto her about it because the
5 Planned Parenthood people had called the cops on
6 her.

7 After the cops went back to their squad car I
8 struck up a conversation with her. I said, ma'am,
9 it's kind of cold out here, are you okay?

10 She said when my daughter was a freshman at
11 Clemson University she got pregnant. And she
12 didn't come to me or her father then, she came
13 right here to this Planned Parenthood and she
14 aborted the child. She said about six months
15 after that my daughter was having a terrible
16 time, she put a gun to her head and she pulled the
17 trigger. She said but she didn't kill herself.
18 She said I have been changing her diapers for 25
19 years.

20 It's not just what it does to the babies that
21 are killed it's also what it does to the lives
22 that are left behind and the scars. It's not just
23 the scars that it puts on the women who go through
24 it and the other loved ones in their life who have
25 to live through it with them and the aftereffects,

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1 it's the scars that it leaves on our society.
2 When you can take an innocent life you devalue all
3 life and our nation and our world has suffered for
4 it ever since. Vote in favor of this bill.
5 Decrease the scars that are left on our society in
6 Georgia.

7 Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

8 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
9 Representative Gurtler to speak to the bill.

10 REPRESENTATIVE GURTNER: Thank you, Mr.
11 Speaker. I rise in support of House Bill 481.
12 Early this year millions of Americans came
13 together all across America to march for life for
14 the innocent and for those human beings uniquely
15 and wonderfully made in God's image. Early this
16 year we also had and watched several states use
17 the power of government to further legitimize
18 infanticide.

19 The Virginia House introduced a repeal act
20 which would allow a health baby to be killed up to
21 the moment of childbirth even while the woman was
22 dilating. The Governor of Virginia, Ralph Northam,
23 doubled down and said in an interview that the
24 baby would be born, made comfortable and that
25 doctors and mothers would decide whether or not

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1 that baby should live or we can let it die. A
2 living innocent human being. Now that is murder.
3 Ending life after birth simply for not being
4 wanted. For all the talk of how progressive we
5 have become and how we live in a civilized nation,
6 how barbaric have we become to now openly be
7 talking about killing life after birth? I became
8 physically sick just thinking about that scenario.

9 New York Governor Cuomo also signed
10 legislation allowing the killing of unborn
11 children at moment of birth. In fact, a man
12 accused of killing a pregnant woman in New York
13 will now only be charged with a simple homicide, a
14 single homicide thanks to Governor Cuomo stripping
15 the rights of that unborn child.

16 Now what are we going to do, Georgia? I was
17 taught that life is a gift from God that is
18 precious and that life is about being responsible
19 for one's self and to help those around us. The
20 Golden Rule, the Bible teaches us that. And even
21 though those who may not believe in God may be
22 here who can acknowledge that life, that the value
23 of treating others and the way we treat ourselves,
24 what are we going to do?

25 And we have a moral obligation as decent

1 human beings to stand up and protect the most
2 vulnerable in our society, protecting and
3 defending life, liberty and property is a proffer
4 of government and that's why we're here. What will
5 history say about us as a people if we do not stand
6 up and if we do nothing to project our fellow man.
7 And I contend that we will be judged in how we
8 treat those that are weakest among us.

9 Some worry we have killed some 60 million
10 since Roe v. Wade. Abortion was pushed and
11 advocated under the guise of safe, legal and rare.
12 Now we have sitting governors saying it's okay to
13 actually just kill that baby after birth. We have
14 devalued life and created death culture. The time
15 to act is now. No more excuses. We are the
16 majority in the House, the Senate and the
17 Executive. We all campaigned on this to protect
18 life. We have controlled Georgia for nearly 20
19 years. There is only good and evil in this world,
20 there's only right and wrong. We must speak up
21 and do what's right or suffer the consequences.
22 And as Dietrich Bonhoeffer said: To not act is to
23 act but to not speak is to speak. I ask my
24 colleagues to stand up for what is right, to
25 support House Bill 481. This bill is simple, it

1 protects life and it is something we all took an
2 oath to do in our constitution.

3 Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

4 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
5 Representative Wilensky to speak to the bill.

6 REPRESENTATIVE WILENSKY: Thank you, Mr.
7 Speaker.

8 I will make a couple of quick points. Under
9 this bill it gives broad overreach to the term of
10 the embryo of life. So that means if after the
11 baby has a heartbeat that if a pregnant woman is
12 walking through the street jaywalking and she
13 trips and falls and that embryo goes away, that
14 would be manslaughter. Under this the definition
15 of what we're doing, we're giving that embryo full
16 rights, that would be manslaughter if a woman just
17 trips and falls while jaywalking because she was
18 committing a crime. Once again it gives full
19 rights of a person. So that means that if a woman
20 is eight weeks pregnant and somebody rear ends
21 them and that eight week child or excuse me, that
22 eight week embryo, something happens to it, the
23 eight week embryo, that means that the person who
24 caused the collision would have a wrongful death
25 claim against them.

1 The record for a baby surviving outside of
2 the womb is 18 weeks. Medical testimony says that
3 before 21 weeks an embryo has a zero percent
4 chance of living.

5 And the last thing about this is that we know
6 that this bill is unconstitutional. We know that
7 there's going to be huge costs to litigate this so
8 we're about to pass a bill that will cost the
9 state a ton of money and also that it gives a baby
10 or the family to make a tax exemption which is more
11 money for the state and we have no fiscal note, so
12 I ask that we vote no against this bill because
13 it's unconstitutional.

14 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
15 Representative Jasmine Clark to speak to the bill.

16 REPRESENTATIVE CLARK: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
17 I come to you today to ask you to vote no on this
18 bill but I'm going to come at it from a very
19 different angle.

20 I would like for everyone to draw your
21 attention to line 78 through 84. On those lines
22 it mentions the American Academy of Obstetrics and
23 Gynecology. Now, you can take my word for it or
24 you can Google it yourself, that organization does
25 not exist. What I think the author of this bill

1 meant to quote is the American College of
2 Obstetrics and Gynecology. Well, if you look on
3 your desk a statement from the American College of
4 Obstetrics and Gynecology says that induced
5 abortion is an essential component of women's
6 healthcare. And further down they define fetal
7 viability as the capacity of the fetus for
8 sustained survival outside of the woman's uterus.
9 If we're going to use the definition from an
10 organization to define viability then let's use
11 the definition from that organization to define
12 viability.

13 Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

14 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
15 Representative Scott to speak to the bill.

16 REPRESENTATIVE SCOTT: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
17 It isn't up to the government or this body to tell
18 me or any woman to give birth or not and this is
19 what denied access to abortion amounts to.
20 Banning abortion does not eliminate abortion, it
21 just makes it less safe and puts pregnant women
22 and their families at risk. Thousands of women
23 lost their lives to unsafe abortions before Roe.
24 Since the legalization of abortion it has become
25 one of the safest medical practices in the United

1 States. Before Roe, in states that banned the
2 procedure, women were receiving illegal, often
3 unsafe abortions that could put their health,
4 lives and families in jeopardy. Women are more
5 likely to stay in abusive relationships when they
6 are unable to access abortions.

7 Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

8 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
9 Representative Holland to speak to the bill.

10 REPRESENTATIVE HOLLAND: Thank you, Mr.
11 Speaker.

12 I'm here tonight to ask this body to vote no
13 on this measure. At its heart this bill
14 eliminates a woman's ability to make healthcare
15 decisions with her doctor. What does that mean
16 for us in the State of Georgia? Well, in a state
17 that already has a shortage of OB-GYNs where half
18 of the counties in Georgia do not have a
19 practicing OB-GYN; in a state that has the worst
20 in maternal mortality rate not just in the country
21 but in the developed world, we would make it
22 harder to recruit doctors to treat women here
23 because this bill eliminates a woman's ability to
24 make healthcare decisions with her doctor.

25 When a young woman with Type 1 diabetes

1 discovers that her contraception has failed, she
2 cannot do anything to further treat her diabetes
3 because this bill eliminates a woman's ability to
4 make healthcare decisions with her doctor.

5 When a mom of two discovers that she's
6 pregnant after a breast cancer diagnosis and will
7 have to forego lifesaving chemo treatment, that's
8 because this bill eliminates a woman's ability to
9 make a healthcare decision with her doctor.

10 When a woman in an abusive relationship
11 discovers she's pregnant and no longer feels she
12 has the resources to leave her abuser it will be
13 because this bill eliminates a woman's ability to
14 make a healthcare decision with her doctor. Or
15 when a college student with a heart valve
16 abnormality experiences sexual assault and is too
17 afraid to file a police report she will no longer
18 be able to treat that valve abnormality because we
19 have eliminated her ability to make healthcare
20 decisions with her doctor.

21 This bill would be devastating to our state's
22 ability to look after our women and care for them
23 as vulnerable citizens, I ask that you vote no on
24 this bill.

25 Thank you, I yield the well.

1 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
2 Representative Anulewicz to speak to the bill.

3 REPRESENTATIVE ANULEWICZ: Thank you, sir.

4 I rise tonight to speak against House Bill
5 481. Not only is it unconstitutional, it is a
6 bill that has neither compassion nor medical
7 integrity. I have been pregnant twice, each
8 pregnancy resulted in a healthy outcome. I had a
9 lot of heartburn. I do not recommend hours and
10 hours of unmedicated Pitocin labor, but with both
11 pregnancies my husband and I left the hospital
12 with a healthy gorgeous thriving baby. As we've
13 discussed, the unfortunate reality is that not all
14 pregnancies have the same outcome. Too often the
15 discovery of an anomaly leaves parents with a
16 heartbreaking decision.

17 There are several examples of congenital
18 anomalies that are incompatible with life.
19 Anencephaly. This is when a baby in the womb has
20 the absence of the brain, the skull and the scalp.

21 There are profound chromosomal abnormalities
22 like Trisomy 13, Trisomy 18. There's fetal hydrops
23 where an excessive accumulation of fluid prohibits
24 the organs from properly developing in a fetus.
25 For most pregnancies these anomalies are

1 discovered around 20 to 22 weeks gestation with
2 typical scans, things that happen. The wait is
3 even longer because you have to wait sometimes for
4 further tests to get more conclusive results for
5 what is going on with the baby. If a woman has
6 had previous issues with fetal anomalies she might
7 be able to have a blood test to look for
8 anomalies. The earliest this test can take place
9 is around 10 to 12 weeks. A fetus with these
10 medical conditions will have a heartbeat.

11 The human body is an incredible thing. The
12 uterus is an amazing vessel, but a heartbeat does
13 not mean that a baby with one of these conditions
14 can live for even a moment outside of the womb.
15 And a child born with these conditions, if they
16 survive birth, will require intense medical
17 interventions and life support to survive for even
18 a few days. If women are forced to carry these
19 pregnancies to term and forced to deliver, these
20 children will suffer. These women will suffer.

21 This is what House Bill 481 means for families
22 in Georgia. For women, for parents, the ability
23 to make the decision of how or whether to proceed
24 with such a pregnancy is of critical importance.
25 We must protect a woman's right to make this

1 choice. And I'm going to be quoting my predecessor
2 Representative Stacey Evans when she was up here
3 on the video screens several years ago when she
4 was en route to deliver her first child, this is a
5 choice that can only be made between a woman, her
6 partner, her doctor and her God.

7 I yield the well.

8 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
9 Representative Nguyen to speak to the bill.

10 REPRESENTATIVE NGUYEN: Thank you,
11 Mr. Speaker. Yesterday in committee the
12 sponsor of this bill said -- they came to me and
13 when they asked to provide an exception to a child
14 conceived of rape or incest that an abortion
15 wouldn't be prohibited starting at human
16 heartbeat -- I have misgivings about that in many
17 ways because I believe those children are just as
18 innocent as others that are conceived
19 intentionally. As a matter of members coming to
20 and saying let's get a consensus bill so that we
21 can get bipartisan support perhaps in the Chamber
22 I added lines 164 to 166 because some people
23 believe that rape is an important exception to
24 have in this part B.

25 To the author of this bill, adding an

1 exception for survivors of rape and incest in no
2 way makes this a bipartisan bill. And there are
3 members of your own party who don't want to vote
4 for this bill. To the author of this bill I too
5 have many misgivings about requiring victims of
6 rape and incest who are just as innocent as others
7 to file a police report.

8 A Georgia man repeatedly raped his daughter
9 and this resulted in the birth of eight children.
10 She gave birth to her first child at age 17. I
11 ask you, at what point does this 17 year old have
12 the ability to file a police report against her
13 father and her rapist?

14 For the last ten years I have worked with
15 young member in Georgia Public High Schools. I
16 know their horrific testimonies of rape and abuse.
17 These crimes remain unreported because the abuser
18 is a family member in their very own household.

19 When we talk about human life and protecting
20 innocent children, why are we not talking about
21 protecting the lives of women and girls? Who
22 protects these victims of rape and incest?

23 Requiring rape and incest victims to file police
24 reports to obtain an exception to the six week
25 rule is cruel and it opens the door to many

1 questions. Is a police report enough to obtain an
2 exception or will the exception require a
3 conviction? Is the author of the bill worried
4 that desperate women and girls will use the
5 exception to file false reports because they feel
6 they have no other choice? And how do we protect
7 victims of rape and incest who are afraid to file
8 a police report against the perpetrator because
9 fear of retaliation. And why should any woman or
10 girl have to file a police report in order to
11 obtain an abortion? The answer is we don't
12 because under Federal law we, as women, have the
13 constitutional right to make decisions that are
14 best for our lives and the lives of our families.
15 This will be struck down in the court of law. And
16 when Georgians go to the poll we are going to
17 remember that members in this body chose to ignore
18 the 71 percent of people who want access to safe
19 and legal abortions.

20 I yield the well.

21 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
22 Representative Moore to speak to the bill.

23 REPRESENTATIVE MOORE: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
24 Ladies and gentlemen, I rise with sadness
25 today that the devil is at work in this Chamber.

1 His mission is to sow fear, lies and discord among
2 us and to test the bonds of our friendship.
3 Though my God calls upon me to forgive those who
4 would trespass against me, now is the time for men
5 and women of conscience to rise up to reject this
6 awful bill.

7 Proponents of this bill claim to have
8 scientifically identified the point at which our
9 spiritual souls intertwine with our physical bodies
10 arbitrarily defined as our circulatory system. To
11 define our infinite existence to a single physical
12 attribute is to reduce God himself for I believe
13 that our souls, the very essence of who we are as
14 children of God, exists long before the embryo and
15 continue long after our mortal hearts stop beating.

16 This bill seeks to replace the good grace of
17 God with the strong arm of the government sending
18 a message to the people of Georgia that they need
19 not seek a relationship with the divine because
20 the government is now the moral arbiter of our
21 lives. The moment we relinquish reproductive
22 rights from the individual to the government it is
23 only a matter of time before that same government
24 that bans abortions will begin requiring them.

25 A curious statement was made yesterday in the

1 committee hearing. It was said that no one loves
2 abortion more than pimps and human traffickers.
3 Assume for a moment that statement is true, why
4 would they love it? Because pimps and human
5 traffickers love controlling women's bodies which
6 is exactly what this bill does. This bill does
7 not distinguish us from them, it makes us exactly
8 like them.

9 You know who else loves to control women's
10 bodies, the most autocratic, theocratic,
11 undemocratic nations in the world. Places like
12 Saudi Arabia, North Korea, Afghanistan, places
13 where our brave men and women in uniform are
14 fighting to liberate people from loathsome
15 policies like this bill.

16 I leave you with the simple notion,
17 colleagues, God was intentional when he gave women
18 the power and the privilege of childbearing, not
19 men, not governments. If you trust God, then you
20 must trust women and you must vote no on HB 481.

21 Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

22 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
23 Representative Parrish to speak to the bill.

24 REPRESENTATIVE PARRISH: Thank you, Mr.
25 Speaker.

1 Colleagues, I rise before you today in strong
2 opposition to House Bill 481 commonly referred to
3 as the Life Act. I am concerned about this
4 heartbeat bill because it challenges the already
5 fragile state of women's health here in Georgia.
6 Healthcare is already lacking with 79 counties
7 having no OB-GYN, 64 counties having no
8 pediatrician and 9 counties having no doctors at
9 all. Rural hospitals, labor and delivery
10 facilities are closing more often than not and
11 many of our neighbors are forced to seek
12 alternative methods to get the treatment and care
13 they desire and need. This is unacceptable and
14 this bill will only make that lack of access to
15 healthcare worse.

16 May I remind my colleagues in this Chamber
17 that Georgia is not only the number one state to
18 do business but unfortunately we are also the
19 number one state where mothers die as we have the
20 highest maternal mortality rate in the nation. To
21 make matters worse, the trauma and depression that
22 women who do live will experience due to carrying
23 a nonviable fetus to term. The ability to make
24 decisions regarding medical care should never be
25 decided in the halls of this Capitol. This is a

1 human right reserved for the mother, her family,
2 her physician and most of all her God.

3 I would rather my constituents listen to the
4 advice of their doctors not a legislator. We had
5 expert advice yesterday and it was all just thrown
6 out the window for the sake of what powerful
7 people in position feel like is their decision to
8 make. How we got to this place where facts no
9 longer matter, I do not know, but I think that it
10 is incumbent upon us to get back to the facts.

11 In closing, this bill has no fiscal note
12 attached. Seeing how not a single state in this
13 country has managed to put similar legislation
14 into lasting practice as courts have continuously
15 deemed them unconstitutional. I would like to see
16 how much it will cost taxpayers to even defend
17 this in court if this Assembly does pass this
18 legislation. I truly believe that Georgia is better
19 than this. Our neighbors deserve better than this.
20 Let us do the right thing and vote in opposition
21 of House Bill 481.

22 Thank you. And I yield the well, Mr. Speaker.

23 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
24 Representative Erica Thomas to speak to the bill.

25 REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS: Thank you, Mr.

1 Speaker.

2 No one is more appreciative of life at this
3 point than I am. In August I will have the
4 privilege to bring a beautiful life to this earth.
5 But that decision was my husband and I's (sic)
6 decision to make and no one in this Chamber had
7 the right to make that choice for me and my family.
8 And no one in this Chamber has the right to make
9 that choice for any woman in Georgia.

10 One of my great friends had a mother that had
11 Stage 4 cancer. She had to chose between chemo
12 and having her eleventh child. I wish that I
13 could look up in the stand today and recognize
14 her. But I can't because she made a choice to have
15 her child. And for her that was an amazing choice.
16 Yes. She left behind eleven children but she made
17 the choice that she wanted to make.

18 And today I stand before you to tell you that
19 no one had the right to make that choice for that
20 family. So when you vote on this bill I want you
21 to see how powerful it is for a woman that is five
22 months pregnant to stand up here and say yes, I
23 chose life but I will not choose for anyone else.

24 I yield the well.

25 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes

1 Representative Lopez Romero to speak to the bill.

2 REPRESENTATIVE LOPEZ ROMERO: Thank you, Mr.

3 Speaker.

4 I rise today to stand with the women and
5 their right to their own reproductive health. For
6 the women, the four Latinas that I know in my life
7 that have made the choice to terminate their
8 pregnancy for various reasons, one that was seeking
9 to be pregnant but their child would not be viable
10 at birth and made a very heart wrenching decision
11 to have to terminate her pregnancy. Another that
12 was assaulted but could not bear to tell and did
13 not have access to a safe and legal abortion and
14 took things into her own hands. Another who had
15 already three children and knew her body and felt
16 she could not carry another child. Another that
17 it was not a point in her life that it was
18 something that she could continue with. But I
19 also stand today for the reproductive choices that
20 women make when they also choose to carry their
21 pregnancy to term regardless of the circumstances
22 whether it be a healthy problem free pregnancy or
23 whether it may impact and have complications. I
24 rise for that choice to determine the course of
25 women's own body.

1 Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I yield the well.

2 THE SPEAKER: The chair will now recognizes
3 Representative Silcox to speak to the bill.

4 REPRESENTATIVE SILCOX: Thank you, Mr.
5 Speaker.

6 I come to you all tonight, first of all, as a
7 Christian. Jesus saved me from cancer when I was
8 16 years old and I was given a 20 percent chance
9 of surviving and by the grace of God I was able to
10 have two children. And I value those children so
11 much and I value life so much. My parents were
12 told that I would never have those children
13 because of all the chemo and radiation that I had.
14 But I have heard from thousands of people in this
15 state and in my district, thousands of women, and
16 I have heard from obstetricians who practice in
17 this state and genuinely do not want to be
18 criminalized for caring for women in our state for
19 what they do and so I rise to vote against this
20 bill and I rise for my constituents and for those
21 people because I was sent here by them to vote for
22 them. I just pray, Lord, that your will be done
23 and I pray, Father, for the great State of
24 Georgia. I yield the well.

25 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes

1 Representative Dreyer to speak to the bill.

2 REPRESENTATIVE DREYER: Thank you, Mr.

3 Speaker.

4 I rise in opposition. We should not be
5 making this decision, but at a minimum, if we are
6 going to be making this decision it should be
7 women in Georgia that are making this decision,
8 not a body comprised primarily of men.

9 I am speaking because women in my leadership
10 have asked me to speak and so I stand in
11 solidarity and I stand as an ally to women in
12 Georgia and I will no in solidarity with women and
13 on behalf of my constituents, but I am never going
14 to tell women what do with their body, so I will
15 be voting no. Thank you.

16 THE SPEAKER: Is there any objection to the
17 previous question being ordered? The Chair hears
18 none, the previous question is ordered.

19 We have a minority report. By rule the
20 minority report is limited to 20 minutes. The
21 Chair recognizes Chairman Beverly for the minority
22 report.

23 CHAIRMAN BEVERLY: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
24 This is probably one of the most heavy bills we'll
25 deal with this year and so I yield ten minutes of

1 my time to Representative Park Cannon and the
2 remainder of the time to Representative Renitta
3 Shannon. Representative Park Cannon.

4 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
5 Representative Cannon.

6 REPRESENTATIVE CANNON: Thank you, Mr.
7 Speaker. My name is Park Cannon and I am proud to
8 represent the district that includes Grady Hospital
9 where many of the women affected by this
10 legislation will turn up and the surrounding
11 streets of the state capitol. I am disheartened
12 that this body is spending the last moment of the
13 last day deliberating what will be determined an
14 unconstitutional measure.

15 I stand here today confident in my decision
16 to terminate my pregnancy when I was sexually
17 assaulted in 2010. As a member of the LGBTQ
18 community there are many people who believe they
19 can quote unquote "rape us straight".

20 I do not deserve to live in a world or a
21 state where people believe that I should be shamed
22 because of my sexual orientation. Many of you
23 know that I now work to help women and families
24 contemplating this decision in English, Spanish
25 and Portuguese.

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1 Today I bring to you a minority report on
2 House Bill 481. We have given amendments on this
3 bill that we shared even in Rules committee today.
4 We have talked about how including fetuses of six
5 weeks in the state-based populations is impossible
6 as the bill calls. We know that women make up 52
7 percent of our state population, so even if half
8 of those women are pregnant there is a major new
9 set of numbers that we need to know for
10 state-based calculations and that deserves a
11 fiscal note. But there is no way for us to do
12 this. It is a flawed idea. It begs that women
13 who are pregnant can ride in the HOV lane. It
14 also asks how we claim for the full value of the
15 life of the child, do we use life insurance to do
16 that.

17 Additionally, this bill opens physician
18 records to law enforcement. Standing in front of
19 the law enforcement in the gallery are many
20 members who have come here today to speak against
21 this bill, I would like for them to stand to be
22 recognized. I want to make it clear that the
23 heartbeat is not an indication of viability.

24 We need to trust doctors. Many of them are
25 in this room today. In our minority report it

1 spells out a zygote. It spells out an embryo. It
2 spells out the embryonic period and when that ends
3 and when it becomes a fetus. We talk about a
4 fertilized egg. You want science, we've given it
5 to you. In the Health and Human Services
6 Committee we did not share our sob stories, we
7 brought doctors to speak to the measure. Instead
8 17 members voted in support. I would like to pray
9 for those representatives who are on the floor
10 today, Representative Barr, Cheokas, Dempsey,
11 Gaines, Hatchett, Hawkins --

12 THE SPEAKER: The lady is out of order.

13 REPRESENTATIVE CANNON: -- I would like to
14 return to the minority report that is on your
15 desks.

16 In us understanding the importance of this
17 legislation we need to look at this measure in
18 totality. It is not scientific. It is not
19 medical. It is, in fact, political. We have seen
20 other political circumstances created. We need to
21 ask for not only a fiscal note on this measure but
22 we also need to create a way to have a dialogue on
23 viability. We need to create a space for doctors
24 to feel safe in the State of Georgia.

25 In the minority report we have spelled out 79

1 counties in the State of Georgia do not have
2 OB/GYNs. We have spelled out that this will make
3 doctors want to leave our state. We know how
4 important it is to address our maternal mortality
5 rates and we would like to return to that matter.
6 That will take fiscal notes, that will take study
7 committees. We are looking forward to working on
8 those, but by passing this legislation today we
9 will instead spend time fighting this in different
10 courts in our state and outside of our state.

11 I yield the rest of my time to Representative
12 Renitta Shannon.

13 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
14 Representative Shannon for the balance of the
15 Chairman's time or the minority report.

16 REPRESENTATIVE SHANNON: As we approach the
17 prospect of a Supreme Court including five
18 justices who will vote to overturn Roe v. Wade it
19 is essential that we not forget the world as it
20 existed before 1973, so let me bring you just a
21 bit of that reality back to life.

22 In the years leading up to Roe more than one
23 million women each year faced a crisis of an
24 unwanted and unplanned pregnancy, found it
25 necessary to resort to illegal abortions. The

1 vast majority of these women turned either to
2 dangerous self-induced abortions or to the dark
3 and often forbidding underworld of back alley
4 abortions.

5 Women who resorted to self-induced abortions
6 typically relied on such methods as throwing
7 themselves down a flight of stairs or ingesting,
8 douching with or inserting into themselves a
9 chilling variety of chemicals and toxins ranging
10 from bleach to turpentine to gun powder to
11 whiskey. Knitting needles, crochet hooks, scissors
12 and coat hangers were among the tools commonly
13 used by women who attempted to self-abort.

14 Approximately 30 percent of all illegal
15 abortions in the 1960s were self-induced. Women
16 who sought abortions from back alley abortionists
17 encountered similar horrors. To find someone to
18 perform an illegal abortion women often had to
19 rely on tips from elevator operators, taxi cab
20 drivers, salesmen and the like. Because of the
21 clandestine nature of illegal abortions the very
22 process of finding someone to perform an abortion
23 was often dangerous and terrifying. Women who
24 sought back alley abortions were often blindfolded,
25 driven to remote areas and passed off to people

1 they did not know and could not even see during
2 the entire process. Such abortions were performed
3 not only in secret offices and in cars, literally
4 in back alleys. The vast majority of these
5 abortions were performed either by persons with
6 only limited medical training such as
7 physiotherapists and chiropractors or by rank
8 amateurs including elevator operators, prostitutes,
9 barbers and unskilled laborers.

10 In the 1960s an average of more than 200
11 women died each year as a result of botched
12 illegal abortions. The mortality rate for black
13 and Hispanic women was 12 times higher than the
14 mortality rate for white women. In addition to
15 those who died in the course of illegal abortions
16 many thousands more suffered serious illness or
17 permanent injury. Because of the humiliation
18 associated with having an illegal abortion many
19 women who suffered complications were reluctant to
20 visit a doctor for treatment.

21 The stories of women who suffered through
22 this nightmare are a legend. One woman recalled
23 how a fellow college student who had an illegal
24 abortion was too frightened to tell anyone that
25 she had done so. She locked herself in the

1 bathroom in her dorm and quietly bled to death.
2 In another incident a 28 year old, Geraldine
3 Santoro, bled to death on the floor of an
4 Connecticut hotel room after she and her former
5 lover attempted an abortion on their own. The
6 former lover who had no medical used a textbook
7 and some borrowed tools. When things went
8 terribly wrong he fled the scene and Santoro died
9 alone.

10 This was a reality of life for one million
11 women each year in the world before Roe v. Wade.
12 Is this the world that we wish to return?

13 What I have just read to you is the history
14 of what life was like for women before abortion
15 was legal. So let's be clear, no matter what kind
16 of law you pass to outlaw abortions, women will
17 continue to seek and have abortions, they will
18 just seek risky measures to have them. Measures
19 that could easily result in their deaths. Any
20 bill that outlaws or restricts a woman's right to
21 choose, right to access abortion care is a bill
22 that is calling for the policies of forced
23 birthing for women.

24 Similar to what you see on the popular show
25 The Handmaid's Tale the women of Georgia can

1 clearly see what this bill is about. They know
2 it's forced birthing and they know that they don't
3 pay taxes to send their legislators down here to
4 legislate their reproductive rights away.

5 So let's get down to the root of what
6 anti-abortion bills are about, and that is that
7 government which is still mostly male does not
8 trust women to make decisions about their own
9 bodies. The women of Georgia are fully capable of
10 making their own decisions and we do not need your
11 condescending bills that challenge our bodily
12 autonomy.

13 I had an abortion almost 20 years ago when I
14 was a senior at the University of Florida. Now my
15 pregnancy was not the result of rape or incest,
16 but abortion was the right decision for me. I do
17 not regret my decision, I didn't regret it at the
18 time and almost 20 years later today I do not
19 regret my decision. And I am not scarred. I
20 still do not regret my decision. It is time for
21 government to simply do one thing, trust women.
22 We might disagree on whether or not women should
23 have the right to an abortion, but you cannot
24 dispute the results of what has happened when
25 governments have banned or restricted abortions.

1 Now I'm going to talk to you about the
2 consequences of El Salvador's abortion ban. And
3 the reason I want to talk to you about this is
4 because it's very similar to what would happen in
5 Georgia if abortion was banned.

6 In 1998 El Salvador passed a law banning
7 abortion under all circumstances. Until that
8 point abortion was illegal except in cases
9 involving risk to maternal life, severe fetal
10 anomaly and rape or incest. Since then El Salvador
11 has worked to enforce its ban mounting an intensive
12 effort to identify and prosecute those who violate
13 the law. If we're hoping to understand what
14 happens when abortion is banned, El Salvador is
15 the perfect place to study.

16 Regardless of whether one favors or opposes
17 the abortion ban it is vital that we assess the
18 laws impact. A law cannot be justified merely
19 because one likes its message. Even if you like
20 the message of the law it is valid only to the
21 extent that it produces results that are
22 consistent with its message.

23 So what happened when abortion was outlawed
24 in El Salvador? The evidence shows us that three
25 there occurred. Number one: Abortions remained

1 commonplace and rapes did not drop even though it
2 was illegal. Doctors became involved in law
3 enforcement. And number three, innocent women
4 were accused and convicted of abortion-related
5 crimes.

6 These three systems, the Black Market,
7 healthcare and criminal justice all yield
8 measurable consequences of the ban on abortion.
9 And as I explain below, in spite of the vast
10 differences between El Salvador and the United
11 States there is good reason to expect that the
12 United States would experience each of these three
13 consequences were it to outlaw abortion.

14 Abortions still happen. Perhaps the most
15 surprising thing about banning abortion is what
16 doesn't happen when abortion becomes a crime.
17 Abortion does not go away. Indeed the rates of
18 abortion in countries with the most restrictive
19 abortion laws are higher. This is true in El
20 Salvador. By the Salvadorian government's own
21 measure there are tens of thousands of illegal
22 abortions every year. Indeed the rate of abortion
23 in countries with restrictive abortion laws far
24 exceeds that of countries with far more liberal
25 laws such as the United States. There is one

1 thing we know for certain, abortion doesn't simply
2 go away when it is made illegal. Because
3 abortions are illegal it is hard to get a complete
4 picture of how women obtain them in El Salvador.
5 What is clear beyond a doubt is that the advent of
6 abortion drugs has completely altered illegal
7 abortion.

8 Abortions used to be exclusively surgical
9 procedures. Doctors would terminate pregnancies
10 by opening the cervix and suctioning or scraping
11 out the contents of the uterus. Women unable to
12 find or afford a doctor to perform an illegal
13 abortion might try bringing on a miscarriage
14 themselves. For example, by inserting a sharp
15 object into their uterus. Opening the cervix is
16 enough to induce a miscarriage, although it
17 carries with it high risk of excessive bleeding
18 and infection. Historically these so-called
19 botched abortions provided the only proof of crime
20 in illegal abortion. Coat hanger abortions, for
21 example, were notorious in pre-Roe America, in
22 part, because they carried a high risk of
23 perforating a woman's uterus leaving behind a
24 telltale sign that the woman had deliberately
25 ended her pregnancy.

1 Beginning in the 1990s with the advent of
2 abortion drugs, illegal abortion became safer and
3 harder to detect. Taken in the appropriate dose
4 at the right point in pregnancy the drug known as
5 RU-486 will safely end 98 percent of pregnancies.
6 Side effects include excessive bleeding or
7 incomplete abortion but readily resolved by a
8 visit to a doctor. Although they are not always
9 safe or effective especially when taken too late
10 in pregnancy or at the wrong dose, compared with
11 the risk of illegal surgical abortion drugs,
12 RU-486 have completely altered women's access to
13 illegal abortion.

14 In El Salvador and throughout Latin America
15 women find easy access to illegal abortion drugs
16 via the Internet. In Brazil, for example, when
17 abortion is illegal except in cases of rape,
18 threat to maternal life or where the fetus lacks
19 a brain, abortion drugs play a vital role in the
20 thriving Black Market.

21 An estimated one in five Brazilian women
22 under the age of 40 has had an abortion. Even in
23 a poor country like El Salvador almost everyone has
24 a Smartphone, and provided that they have money and
25 time can go on line to purchase the drugs that will

1 end an unwanted pregnancy.

2 To be sure, illegal abortion remains risky
3 whether they use drugs or other means to terminate
4 their pregnancies. Many women experience
5 complications from illegal abortion that
6 necessitate medical attention. In Latin America
7 complications from illegal abortion constitute the
8 leading cause of mortality in young women. The
9 inevitability of such complications has led to the
10 second concrete change set in motion by banning
11 abortions, doctors become entangled in the law
12 enforcement process.

13 If the first thing that happened when El
14 Salvador banned abortion was a proliferation of
15 illegal Black Market abortions the second thing
16 that happened was doctors were enlisted in the law
17 enforcement effort. The overwhelming majority of
18 abortion cases in El Salvador began in the
19 hospital with the doctor's hunch that his or her
20 patient had broken the law.

21 In 1998 Salvadorian government officials
22 charged with implementing the newly passed
23 abortion ban reached out to doctors to encourage
24 them to report patients they suspected of
25 terminating their pregnancies. Dr. Gradus,

1 former president of the El Salvadorian Association
2 of Obstetricians and Gynecologists described the
3 state's approach. He told me officials from the
4 state prosecutor's office went to the hospitals
5 advising doctors that they had a legal obligation
6 to report women suspected of terminating their
7 pregnancies and the hospital director supported
8 the obligation to report. They collaborated. The
9 push to enlist doctors in enforcing the abortion
10 law succeeded. A 2006 survey of practicing
11 obstetricians found that more than half, 56 percent
12 of respondents reported having been involved in
13 notifying legal authorities about a suspected
14 unlawful abortion. Inevitably a country seeking
15 to enforce laws against abortion will seek doctors'
16 collaboration.

17 Women must turn to doctors when an illegal
18 abortion goes wrong. Doctors are therefore in the
19 best position to spot the crime.

20 THE SPEAKER: The lady has one minute left.

21 REPRESENTATIVE SHANNON: But there are
22 serious problems with using doctors to enforce
23 abortion laws. In reporting their patients,
24 doctors break the law and violate the oldest of
25 ethical principles, patient confidentiality.

1 Furthermore, in the vast majority of cases, doctors
2 cannot tell whether a woman has had an abortion or
3 simply a miscarriage. Thus their reports are based
4 on hunches rather than on medical advice.

5 The obligation of safeguarding a patient's
6 secrets is ancient. For over 2,400 years medical
7 doctors have embraced the precepts articulated in
8 the Hippocratic oath recited at medical school
9 graduations worldwide. One of the oaths central
10 tenets is the following pledge: Whatever I see or
11 hear in the lives of my patients whether in
12 connection with my professional practice or not
13 which ought not to be spoken of outside I will
14 keep secret as considering all things should be
15 private. The principle is based in part on policy
16 considerations. Confidentiality is essential to
17 creating a solid doctor/patient relationship
18 dedicated to promoting the health and life of the
19 patient. Doctors routinely treat patients whom
20 they suspect or even know to have broken the law.
21 The medical profession has long been clear that
22 its job is to heal rather than to work as agents
23 of the police. In El Salvador as in other
24 countries, including the United States, the
25 ethical obligation of confidentiality has been

1 enacted into law. It is illegal to share patient
2 information. A doctor who reveals her patient's
3 medical information commits both a civil wrong for
4 which a patient might sue and a crime punishable by
5 imprisonment and the suspension of the doctor's
6 medical license. Regardless of these ethical and
7 legal precepts it is easy to understand why a
8 doctor might struggle when encountering evidence
9 of an illegal abortion. If you view abortion as
10 the taking of a life you might be willing to call
11 the police even if it means violating the norms
12 and laws governing confidentiality.

13 Salvadorian law supports such breaches of
14 confidentiality by requiring doctors to report
15 suspected crimes to the state. Because abortion
16 is a criminal act, this requirement could be
17 construed to mean that providers must report cases
18 of unlawful abortion to police. Plainly this was
19 the interpretation the Salvadorian officials meant
20 to convey when they toured hospitals in 1998.
21 Legally, though, they were wrong. The law
22 explicitly excuses doctors from this duty when the
23 information is acquired in the course of a
24 confidential doctor/patient relationship. The law
25 states that doctors, pharmacists, nurses and other

1 health professionals must report --

2 THE SPEAKER: The lady was given a one minute
3 warning.

4 REPRESENTATIVE SHANNON: -- unlawful criminal
5 acts that they become aware of --

6 THE SPEAKER: And now is two minutes over the
7 time.

8 REPRESENTATIVE SHANNON: -- in the context of
9 their professional relationship unless the
10 information they acquire is protected under the
11 term of professional secrecy. There is no
12 conflict under the law then. Doctors are required
13 to maintain patient confidentiality. Still, when
14 the state sends prosecutors to inform hospital
15 personnel --

16 THE SPEAKER: The lady will leave the well.
17 The lady will leave the well. The lady would do
18 well to heed the advice of her colleagues.

19 We're going to -- we're going on now to the
20 Chairman's time. And in the absence of the Chair,
21 Vice Chairman Newton will give the Chairman's time
22 and he's recognized for that purpose. 20 minutes.
23 By rule 20 minutes.

24 REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON: Thank you, Mr.
25 Speaker. Colleagues, what a passionate issue and

1 what a challenge for all of us to be like Solomon
2 in our decision-making.

3 23andMe, Ancestry.com, many people in Georgia
4 have learned of their relationships and their
5 ancestry. They've done it with just a small
6 sample. A small sample because we have the same
7 DNA in every cell, every cell in our body, a
8 genetically unique and a uniquely special
9 individual since before each of us was born, each
10 one of us in this room.

11 We all know that others may likely and
12 finally decide the degree of protection for unborn
13 children, but today we have an opportunity to take
14 a first step, a first small step in celebrating
15 and valuing life at all stages.

16 Foster children for whom many in this body
17 spent much of the last two years working to make a
18 difference in their lives, elderly fellow Georgians
19 for whom we're trying to advance protections even
20 now and, yes, the life of a pregnant woman along
21 with the life of the unborn child in her womb.

22 I did have the opportunity to meet several
23 women today at the ropes. Women, young women who
24 are passionate on both sides of this issue. But
25 if you will with me just a moment imagine a young

1 woman of 25 years old. A young woman who deserves
2 our protection from those who would harm her. But
3 she also deserved protection 15 years earlier as a
4 10 year old, a fifth grade student, a girl for whom
5 this body has recently increased funding for school
6 security and will continue to do more. That same
7 10 year old deserved protection 10 years earlier
8 than that as a newborn infant girl, protections
9 this body has placed against those who would commit
10 child abuse against a helpless, innocent infant
11 girl. But she also, 6 months before that with the
12 exact same DNA in every cell, the same uniquely
13 designed individual, and she deserved protection
14 then.

15 We know this in our minds because technology
16 and science has given us more and more information,
17 information that was not there 30 years ago much
18 less 40 plus years ago. But we also know it in our
19 hearts, in our souls, and in the joy that one of
20 the fellow representatives mentioned about the
21 life in her womb is touching and she knows that
22 life is valuable today and I imagine she would
23 fight to the death anyone that would try to harm
24 that child either now or 6 months from now or 9
25 months from now or 15 years from now. And that is

1 the right thing because we know it in our heart.

2 This current bill doesn't ban abortion, it
3 still allows a certain amount of abortions so some
4 are not happy with that. This bill would not ban
5 a morning after pill or a plan B if there was a
6 rape or incest with no police report required but
7 what this current bill would do is for that young
8 woman prior to her birth it would establish to the
9 degree of protection to those who would harm her.
10 And that protection would begin with her
11 detectable human heartbeat. A heartbeat in which
12 every cell in that heart has the exact same DNA as
13 it's going to have 25 years later as a young 25
14 year old woman or 75 years later as an elderly
15 Georgian. We have an opportunity to protect both,
16 to protect young women and protect young women and
17 young men before they're born. I urge you to take
18 this first step to celebrate life, to protect it at
19 all stages and I urge you to vote affirmative, to
20 vote yes for this.

21 I yield the balance of the time to Chairman
22 Setzler.

23 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes a Chairman
24 Setzler for the balance of the Chairman's time.

25 REPRESENTATIVE SETZLER: Thank you, Mr.

1 Speaker.

2 Ladies and gentlemen of the House, I
3 appreciate the deliberation and the thoughtfulness
4 and the passion that was part of this debate.

5 75 percent of the debate time was given to the
6 minority party on this debate. We had a whole line
7 of speakers that came to talk to this issue because
8 we think that both sides need to be heard. There
9 was no chilling of opportunity, there was no
10 chilling of people's perspective, we saw line after
11 line after line of person oppose this bill given
12 the opportunity to be heard.

13 Ladies and gentlemen of the House, as we
14 consider this question, as we consider the
15 question before us about the human life, I
16 appreciate the questions that were brought. We
17 care deeply about women in this state. In fact,
18 when you think about the services we provide for
19 prenatal care, it's more than two times what we
20 provide to other adults in settings in which they
21 are not pregnant. Pregnant women we cover to 2.1
22 times the level that we cover other people in
23 terms of care.

24 We could go on and on and on about the
25 leadership that we've provided in addressing the

1 healthcare concerns of women. But what we get back
2 to when we consider this question is this, friends,
3 as I look out that window right there -- I recall
4 when I first walked into the General Assembly I
5 stood there in the break room and I looked outside
6 the window and I almost drew a tear from it because
7 on March 18th, 1970 a 20 year old college student
8 from here in Atlanta found herself pregnant. She
9 got pregnant in the summer of 1969, and with the
10 liberalization of abortion laws in Georgia that
11 this General Assembly passed in 1968 could have
12 gone through a process to abort the child. But
13 that mother, a fragile, scared 20 year old college
14 student went to Grady Hospital and gave birth to
15 me on March 18th, 1970. She offered me up for
16 adoption, and 27 days later I was put into the
17 hands of a 27 year old pastor and his wife who
18 cried themselves to sleep for year after year
19 after year of marriage without being able to have
20 a child. Friends, that young pastor and his wife
21 were able to adopt two children in the 1960s and
22 1970s because there were children to be had.
23 Friends, before abortion took the lives of 25
24 percent of the children that are conceived in
25 this state, adoption was a loving solution that

1 was available to people throughout the State of
2 Georgia and was used time and time and time again
3 to give life.

4 I can't thank my birth mother enough. I
5 don't know who she is, but I will see her some day
6 in heaven. And I think about the four kids that I
7 have and the kids they may have and others and the
8 lives they'll touch and it all came from the gift
9 of adoption that this General Assembly two years
10 ago acted in a very bold way under the leadership,
11 the timeless ardent leadership of Representative
12 Reeves to expand access to adoption, make adoption
13 easier, make it more viable for women to choose
14 adoption as a choice. We acted two years ago as a
15 General Assembly in a historic way to facilitate
16 people making that choice.

17 But friends, what we're left with today is
18 the choice as a legislator. As legislators we've
19 got to choose do we want to let the child in the
20 womb, a living distinct human being be torn from
21 their mothers.

22 There has been a lot of discussion today and
23 it's been appropriate discussion care for women
24 and about the concern we all -- our hearts go out
25 to every woman who would be harmed through

1 abortion. But friends, every single year in this
2 state 30,000 children are not just harmed, they're
3 torn limb from limb. Every single abortion takes
4 the life of a human being. And friends, I'm not
5 going to show it because it's not polite to show.
6 On my computer screen is the picture of the
7 contents of an abortion, it's right here. Now,
8 why do I not put this on the board, I'd be boohed
9 and hissed if I put a picture of an abortion up on
10 the big board. It is so inconceivable what happens
11 in the practice of abortion that we can't even look
12 at it. I can't turn this screen around without
13 getting boos and hisses because it's so outside of
14 polite conversation. The ripping apart of human
15 beings through abortion is just -- is the reality
16 that none of us want to face. It's so outside of
17 polite conversation we can't talk about it in our
18 churches, we can't talk about it in the public
19 square, it's something we don't want to face. In
20 fact, a member of the press asked me what do I wish
21 we had been able to do in committee yesterday after
22 three hours of debate. I said, friends, I just
23 wish we could come face-to-face, face-to-face with
24 the little parts of a baby in a doctor's hand that
25 shows this is what abortion is.

1 This is what we're talking about, friends.
2 This bill weighs the privacy interest of the mother
3 which we recognize as being valid, but when you
4 weigh the life interest of this human child, how
5 do we reconcile those two in a fair, balanced and
6 appropriate way.

7 I would ask you -- if I were to turn this
8 screen around and show you, and if I were to show
9 11 million Georgians what's on this screen right
10 here the product of an abortion, how do you think
11 they'd vote, what do you think they'd think,
12 should this child be protected or should we go on
13 with platitudes about trusting, trusting people's
14 decisions.

15 Friends, we have a very difficult balance to
16 strike. And what I'm asking you to consider is --
17 this is not a new idea, this isn't something we
18 made up in 2019. My friends, the lady from DeKalb
19 mentioned the Hippocratic oath. The Hippocratic
20 oath was the foundation of modern medicine in the
21 western world. In fact, it was written -- the
22 earliest records are about from 300 BC when the
23 Hippocratic oath was first written. I'm going to
24 read from the Hippocratic oath. I would ask you to
25 join. I can't read the whole thing, but I'm going

1 to read a couple of sentences. It says I will use
2 treatment to help the sick according to my ability
3 and judgment but never with a view to injury or in
4 wrongdoing. Neither will I administer a poison to
5 anybody when asked to do so, nor will I suggest
6 such a course. And similarly, I will not give to a
7 woman a pessary to cause abortion.

8 2,300 years ago, 23 centuries ago the pagan
9 Greeks recognized that taking the life in the womb
10 is always unacceptable.

11 Friends, this is a historic decision you've
12 got to make. It's not easy for any of us. It is
13 not easy for me to stand here. I stand here with
14 deepest humility. I'm inadequate to communicate
15 the enormity of this question, but when 60 million
16 children across the country in the last 46 years
17 have been lost to this barbaric procedure, when
18 women are faced with such tragically difficult
19 circumstances, friends, let's choose life, let's
20 help them make the loving choice of adoption and
21 give people life. Let's not -- let's draw the
22 balance when there's a presence of a human
23 heartbeat and say if there's a beating heart,
24 there's a beating human heart inside of a human
25 being, they're worthy of our protection.

1 Friends, I'm honored to be able to speak
2 before you today, I'm humble to serve alongside of
3 you and I ask you to join me in supporting House
4 Bill 481. I yield the well.

5 THE SPEAKER: The previous question has been
6 ordered. What purpose does the minority leader
7 rise?

8 REPRESENTATIVE TRAMMELL: Mr. Speaker, to make
9 a motion.

10 THE SPEAKER: State your motion.

11 REPRESENTATIVE TRAMMELL: Pursuant to Rule 152
12 I move this House adjourn.

13 THE SPEAKER: Is there objection? There is
14 objection. All those in favor of the gentleman's
15 motion -- all those in favor of the gentleman's
16 motion to adjourn will vote aye, those opposed
17 will vote no and the clerk will unlock the
18 machines.

19 (Machines unlocked.)

20 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? If so
21 the clerk will lock the machine.

22 (Machines locked.)

23 THE SPEAKER: On the motion to adjourn the
24 ayes are 66, the nays are 95 and the motion has
25 failed. What purpose does the minority leader

1 rise?

2 REPRESENTATIVE TRAMMELL: To make a motion.

3 THE SPEAKER: State your motion.

4 REPRESENTATIVE TRAMMELL: Pursuant to Rule 93

5 I move to lay this matter on the table.

6 THE SPEAKER: Is there objection? We have a
7 motion to table. All those in favor of the motion
8 to table will vote aye, those opposed will vote no
9 and the clerk will unlock the machines.

10 (Machines unlocked.)

11 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
12 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
13 machines.

14 (Machines locked.)

15 THE SPEAKER: On the motion to table the ayes
16 are 70, the nays are 96, the motion to table has
17 failed.

18 The previous question has been ordered. Is
19 there any objection to adopting the committee
20 substitute? The Chair hears none, the committee
21 substitute is adopted.

22 Is there any objection to agreeing to the
23 report of the committee which was favorable to the
24 passage of the bill? The Chair hears none, the
25 report of the committee is agreed to.

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1 Shall this bill now pass? All those in favor
2 of the passage of the bill will vote aye, those
3 opposed will vote no and the clerk will unlock the
4 machines.

5 (Machines unlocked.)

6 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
7 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
8 machine.

9 (Machines locked.)

10 THE SPEAKER: On the passage of House Bill
11 481, the ayes are 93, the nays are 73. This bill
12 having received the requisite constitutional
13 majority is therefore passed.

14 What purpose does the minority leader rise?

15 REPRESENTATIVE TRAMMELL: Mr. Speaker, to
16 serve notice pursuant to Rule 143 for a motion for
17 reconsideration.

18 THE SPEAKER: I think we have to take that up
19 now. All those in favor of reconsidering the
20 House's action in giving a constitutional majority
21 to House Bill 481 will vote aye, those opposed to
22 reconsideration will vote no and the clerk will
23 unlock the machines.

24 (Machines unlocked.)

25 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have

1 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
2 machine.

3 (Machines locked.)

4 THE SPEAKER: On the gentleman's motion to
5 reconsider, the ayes are 73, the nays are 93.
6 This House has this failed to reconsider its
7 action in giving a constitutional majority to
8 House Bill 481.

9 The clerk will read the caption to House Bill
10 454.

11 THE CLERK: House Bill 454 by Representative
12 Tanner of the 9th to be entitled an act to amend
13 Title 40 of the Official Code of Georgia Annotated
14 relating to motor vehicles and traffic so as to
15 provide for the operation of motorized mobility
16 devices and to provide for related matters. This
17 bill having been referred to the committee on
18 transportation. That committee recommends that
19 this bill do pass by committee substitute.

20 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Chairman
21 Tanner to present the bill.

22 REPRESENTATIVE TANNER: Thank you, Mr.
23 Speaker. For the last several months GMA has been
24 working very closely with the scooter industry.
25 This is an issue we didn't hear a whole lot about

1 up until six, eight months ago. They work very
2 closely with the scooter industry in the cities,
3 the larger cities around Georgia including Atlanta
4 to put some definitions in the Code defining what
5 the scooters are and to setting up some basic
6 rules of road that allows for permissive use in
7 bicycle lanes, permissive use on streets if
8 there's no bicycle lane and the street is less
9 than 35 miles an hour, and they also are allowable
10 on sidewalks if allowed by local ordinance. They
11 also allow local governments the flexibility needed
12 to develop public strategy, safety strategies for
13 roads within their jurisdictions, they create
14 liability limits and they also set minimum
15 standards for parking removal including a Good
16 Samaritan statue. They create requirements for
17 accident reporting. This bill in no way restricts
18 local governments. Local governments can further
19 restrict or ban scooters, but this does set some
20 basic rules of the road into the state law which
21 is much needed by the industry and wanted by GMA
22 in our cities across Georgia to have this new
23 technology.

24 With that, Mr. Speaker, I'll be glad to answer
25 any questions but I'd ask for favorable

1 consideration for House Bill 454.

2 THE SPEAKER: You have no questions.

3 REPRESENTATIVE TANNER: I yield the well.

4 THE SPEAKER: The gentleman has yielded the
5 well. Is there any objection to the previous
6 question being ordered? The Chair hears none, the
7 previous question is ordered.

8 Is there any objection to adopting the
9 committee substitute? The Chair hears none, the
10 committee substitute is adopted.

11 Is there any objection to agreeing to the
12 report of the committee which was favorable to the
13 passage of the bill? The Chair hears none, the
14 report of the committee is agreed to.

15 Shall this bill now pass? All those in favor
16 of the passage of the bill will vote aye, those
17 opposed will vote no and the clerk will unlock the
18 machine.

19 (Machines unlocked.)

20 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
21 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
22 machine.

23 (Machines locked.)

24 THE SPEAKER: On the passage of House Bill
25 454, the ayes are 133, the nays are 28. This bill

1 having received the requisite constitutional
2 majority is therefore passed.

3 The clerk will read the caption to House Bill
4 470.

5 THE CLERK: House Bill 470 by Representative
6 Sainz of the 180th and others to be entitled an Act
7 to amend Article 6A of Chapter 3 of Title 35 of the
8 Official Code of Georgia Annotated related to DNA
9 sampling, collection and analysis, so as to provide
10 for analysis and collection of DNA for individuals
11 charged with a felony offense but sentenced as a
12 First Offender. This bill having been referred to
13 the committee in judiciary and now in civil. That
14 committee recommends that this bill do pass by
15 committee substitute.

16 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
17 Representative Sainz to present the bill.

18 REPRESENTATIVE SAINZ: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

19 I rise before you today to bring up House
20 Bill 470 which changes Title 35 to reflect
21 modifications made in Title 42 in 2016 on First
22 Offenders which made it to where First Offenders
23 were not labeled as a conviction. This purely
24 makes it to where Title 35 recognizes both
25 convictions and First Offenders in collecting that

1 DNA. It also adds added protection that the DNA
2 collection is automatically discarded after that
3 individual is done with the First Offender
4 sentence. With that I yield if there is no
5 questions.

6 THE SPEAKER: You have no questions.

7 REPRESENTATIVE SAINZ: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
8 I ask this body for its favorable consideration.

9 THE SPEAKER: Is there any objection to the
10 previous question being ordered? The Chair hears
11 none, the previous question is ordered.

12 Is there any objection to adopting the
13 committee substitute? The Chair hears none, the
14 committee substitute is adopted.

15 Is there any objection to agreeing to the
16 report of the committee which was favorable to the
17 passage of the bill? The Chair hears none, the
18 report of the committee is agreed to.

19 Shall this bill now pass? All those in favor
20 of the passage of House Bill 470 will vote aye,
21 those opposed will vote no and the clerk will
22 unlock the machines.

23 (Machines unlocked.)

24 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
25 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the

1 machines.

2 (Machines locked.)

3 THE SPEAKER: On the passage of House Bill
4 470, the ayes are 143, the nays are 15. This bill
5 having received the requisite constitutional
6 majority is therefore passed.

7 The clerk will read the caption to House Bill
8 478.

9 THE CLERK: House Bill 478 by Representative
10 Ballinger of the 23rd and others to be entitled an
11 Act to amend Article 8 of Chapter 5 of Title 49 of
12 the Official Code of Georgia Annotated relating to
13 the central child abuse registry so as to provide
14 improvements to the operation of the child abuse
15 registry. This bill having been referred to the
16 committee on juvenile justice. That committee
17 recommends that this bill do pass.

18 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Chairman
19 Ballinger to present the bill.

20 REPRESENTATIVE BALLINGER: Thank you, Mr.
21 Speaker.

22 Ladies and gentlemen, the evening grows long
23 so I will be very brief. Section 1 just updates
24 the language. Section 2 eliminates juveniles to
25 the child abuse registry and it adds the

1 information that needs to be submitted. Section 3
2 sets forth procedures and allows for the
3 opportunity for a hearing before the placement on
4 the registry. Before it was you had to appeal to
5 actually get off the registry and it also allows
6 for a stay when there is a criminal prosecution.
7 Section 4 covers the expungement provision. This
8 is a consent piece of legislation supported by
9 GACDL, PAC, The Barton Law Center, Voices For
10 Georgia's Children, the Division of Family &
11 Children's Services and many others.

12 Mr. Speaker, I'll be happy to yield for
13 questions.

14 THE SPEAKER: You have no questions.

15 REPRESENTATIVE BALLINGER: Thank you, Mr.
16 Speaker. I ask for your favorable consideration.
17 Thank you.

18 THE SPEAKER: Is there any objection to the
19 previous question being ordered? The Chair hears
20 none, the previous question is ordered.

21 Is there any objection to agreeing to the
22 report of the committee which was favorable to the
23 passage of the bill? The Chair hears none, the
24 report of the committee is agreed to.

25 Shall this bill now pass? All those in favor

1 of the passage of House Bill 478 will vote aye,
2 those opposed will vote no and the clerk will
3 unlock the machine.

4 (Machines unlocked.)

5 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
6 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
7 machines.

8 (Machines locked.)

9 THE SPEAKER: On the passage of House Bill
10 478, the ayes are 151, the nays are 2. This bill
11 having received the requisite constitutional
12 majority is therefore passed.

13 The clerk will read the caption to House Bill
14 84.

15 THE CLERK: House Bill 84 by Representative
16 Smith of the 134th and others to be entitled an
17 Act to amend Title 33 of the Official Code of
18 Georgia Annotated relating to insurance so as to
19 provide for consumer protections regarding health
20 insurance. This bill having been referred to the
21 committee on insurance, that committee recommends
22 that this bill do pass by committee substitute.

23 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Chairman
24 Smith to present the bill.

25 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

1 For you freshman, I've been working on this bill
2 four years so don't give up when you get started
3 on something.

4 This bill has to do with transparency. You
5 know, you go to the hospital, you've done
6 everything right, you've talked to the hospital,
7 they're in your insurance network, your doctors are
8 in your insurance network and then all of the
9 sudden you get home and about four weeks later you
10 get a bill in the mail, some times six months, some
11 times twelve months. And there's someone you know
12 here, and I'm not going to tell you who it is, she
13 received a bill three years after a procedure was
14 done. Now that's obscene.

15 This bill just says that when you go in for a
16 doctor's office or for a hospital visit that upon
17 your request they have to tell you the providers in
18 that procedure, they have to tell you if they're in
19 your insurance network. They have to tell you what
20 the cost is. And for -- these are normal
21 procedures. And they also have to tell you how
22 much your insurance paid so that you'll know if you
23 have a bill coming. Then at the end of that,
24 instead of getting these bills twelve months later
25 or three months later or whatever, they have to

1 send you the bill within 90 days after the final
2 adjudication with the doctors, insurance, hospital
3 and this and then you have 90 days to respond. And
4 you can do an alternative dispute resolution
5 through the insurance department so there are
6 mechanisms to protect the hospital and also doctors
7 and also the patient.

8 Mr. Speaker, I'll yield for a couple of
9 questions. Otherwise, I appreciate your support.

10 THE SPEAKER: You have a question if you care
11 to yield.

12 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Yes, sir. I'll go for
13 two.

14 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
15 Representative Newton to your right for a
16 question.

17 REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON: Thank you, Mr.
18 Speaker. Does the gentleman yield?

19 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Yes, I do.

20 REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON: I know the gentleman
21 will agree that you and I have both worked on this
22 challenge and I appreciate your work on this to end
23 the surprise insurance gap, the surprise billing.
24 Is it true that this bill does not solve any of the
25 emergency bills that someone would get or any of

1 the bills from on-call doctors?

2 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: That's exactly right,
3 this is just for scheduled procedures.

4 REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON: Will the gentleman
5 further yield?

6 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Yes, sir.

7 REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON: I know there's
8 disputes among constitutional lawyers of which I'm
9 not and didn't play one on TV or anything, is it
10 the sponsor's concern that there could be a
11 possibility of another bill that would come from
12 the other chamber that we could hope to look at,
13 at least at a hearing or a possible vote on this
14 House floor that might solve both the emergency
15 consumer problem as well as the --

16 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Well, I think you're
17 referring to Senate Bill 56. And I've already
18 promised you that we would have a hearing in
19 subcommittee on this particular issue which is
20 something we haven't done in the past because
21 based on legislative counsel's advice on this
22 particular item on Senate Bill 56 they say I see
23 it as an unconstitutional impairment of contract
24 and restraint of trade, could also be an overreach
25 of legislative power and in the right circumstances

1 an unlawful delegation of power. So that's -- we
2 will have a hearing but a hearing only.

3 REPRESENTATIVE NEWTON: Thank you, sir.

4 REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: Mr. Speaker, I'll
5 yield --

6 THE SPEAKER: No further questions. Oh, you
7 do have one -- no. He waives.

8 Is there any objection to the previous
9 question being ordered? The Chair hears none, the
10 previous question is ordered.

11 Is there any objection to adopting the
12 committee substitute? The Chair hears none, the
13 committee substitute is adopted.

14 Is there any objection to agreeing to the
15 report of the committee which was favorable of the
16 passage of the bill? The Chair hears none, the
17 report of the committee is agreed to.

18 Shall this bill now pass? All those in favor
19 of the passage of House Bill 84 will vote aye,
20 those opposed will vote no and the clerk will
21 unlock the machines.

22 (Machines unlocked.)

23 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
24 all members voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
25 machines.

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1 (Machines locked.)

2 THE SPEAKER: On the passage of House Bill 84,
3 the ayes are 77, the nays are 78. This bill has
4 failed to receive the requisite constitutional
5 majority.

6 The clerk will read the caption to House Bill
7 264.

8 THE CLERK: House Bill 264 by Representative
9 Werkheiser of the 157th and others to be entitled
10 an Act to amend Article 4 Chapter 5 of Title 21 of
11 the Official Code of Georgia Annotated relating to
12 public officials' conduct and lobbyist disclosure
13 so as to provide that any natural persons
14 undertaking to promote or oppose any matter before
15 a local coordinating entity regarding the
16 Emergency Medical Systems Communication Program
17 are subject to transparency. This bill having
18 been referred to the committee on Health and Human
19 Services, that committee recommends that this bill
20 do pass by committee substitute.

21 THE SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes
22 Representative Werkheiser to present the bill.

23 REPRESETATIVE WERKHEISER: Thank you, Mr.
24 Speaker.

25 I'm going to speak fast. This bill came about

1 because constituents from all over the state have
2 asked that we looked at how our ambulance services
3 are selected and reviewed. Currently our state
4 is divided into ten regions or coordinating
5 entities that select and oversee our ambulance
6 services. The first section adds that those who
7 promote or oppose matters before these councils be
8 subject to the state ethics and transparency laws.
9 Secondly these councils would need to establish
10 bylaws which must be approved by the Department of
11 Public Health. Thirdly, anyone who operates or
12 owns or submits a proposal shall be prohibited
13 from serving on any of these committees.

14 Lastly, the bill adds these entities to the
15 open meetings requirements. There's other
16 provisions such as appeal processes, accountability
17 standards and reporting requirements that are
18 included and you can read for yourself. With that,
19 Mr. Speaker, I will yield the well.

20 THE SPEAKER: You have no questions. The
21 gentleman has yielded the well, is there any
22 objection to the previous question being ordered?
23 The Chair hears none, the previous question is
24 ordered.

25 Is there any objection to adopting the

1 committee substitute? The Chair hears none, the
2 committee substitute is adopted.

3 Is there any objection to agreeing to the
4 report of the committee which was favorable to the
5 passage of the bill? The Chair hears none, the
6 report of the committee is agreed to.

7 Shall this bill now pass? All those in favor
8 of the passage of the bill will vote aye, those
9 opposed will vote no and the clerk will unlock the
10 machines.

11 (Machines unlocked.)

12 THE SPEAKER: Have all members voted? Have
13 all members voted? If so the clerk will lock the
14 machine.

15 (Machines locked.)

16 THE SPEAKER: On the passage of House Bill
17 264, the ayes are 148, the nays are 6. This bill
18 having received the requisite constitutional
19 majority is therefore passed.

20 I want y'all to help me recognize an
21 outstanding group of one young people that have
22 been with us all day long, our pages for today.
23 Thank y'all very very much.

24 And while you're in a good mood, The Chair is
25 going to get us out of here so that Representative

1 Mary Margaret Oliver can have about 50 minutes to
2 celebrate her birthday before midnight. Please
3 wish a happy birthday to Representative Oliver.

4 On the floor of the House we have yet another
5 former member, former state representative, now
6 judge, Mike Jacobs.

7 The Chair recognizes the majority leader of
8 this House for a motion.

9 REPRESENTATIVE BURNS: Mr. Speaker, I move
10 this House stand adjourned until 10:00 a.m.
11 Friday, March 8th, 2019.

12 THE SPEAKER: And as I understand -- I hear
13 groans, weeping and whaling, we will have no rules
14 calendar but we will have First Readers tomorrow
15 so we can get bills that have come over from the
16 Senate. There were some that they we did that
17 they didn't touch. I'll have more to say about
18 that later. But they've sent some bills over and
19 we're got put those in committee tomorrow and so
20 we'll be here at 10:00 o'clock and we'll get you
21 out of here very quickly.

22 The majority leader has moved that this
23 House adjourn until 10:00 a.m. Friday, March 8th.
24 All those in favor of the motion will say aye.
25 Those opposed will say no. The ayes have it and

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1 this House will be adjourned until 10:00 a.m. on
2 Friday, March 8th.

3 (Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned.)

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2 COURT REPORTER CERTIFICATE

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4 STATE OF GEORGIA:

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COUNTY OF FULTON:

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I hereby certify that the foregoing transcript was taken down from electronic media, as stated in the caption and the proceedings were reduced to typewriting under my direction and control; that the foregoing pages represent a true, complete, and correct transcript of the evidence given upon said hearing; and I further certify that I am not of kin or counsel to the parties in the case; am not in the employ of counsel for any of said parties; nor am I in any way interested in the result of said case.

16 This the 7th day of June, 2019.

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Susan H. Horner, B-808

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